

SOCIAL ACTION

News-Letter

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September, 1954

INDOCHINA, LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

"They are not new lessons, Indochina simply underscores them for us all to see. To begin with let us face the fact that our policy or lack of policy with relation to Indochina was a failure. It seems relatively certain by now that Indochina, both north and south, has been, or shortly will be, lost to communism. Furthermore, our national prestige and good will in southeast Asia have definitely been diminished. Not only is this so but France and Britain, whose good will we were hurting, are far from happy with our participation in the Indochina debacle. Let us grant that American participation or lack of it was far from the only factor which led to failure in Indochina. The lessons are still the same. Even, in fact, if the French armies had been victorious the lessons would still be there to be learned. What are they?

First, the will of the common people for or against war is one of the major factors in its initiation, continuance or cessation. (This is another way of saying that the will of the common people for peace is one of the strongest deterrents to war.)

Competent observers are generally agreed that a large part of the defeat of the French was due to their inability to inspire enthusiasm for the war on the part of the Indochinese people themselves. Communist forces on the other hand, whether rightly or wrongly, were able to convince many of the Indochinese that in fighting for communism they were fighting for freedom from colonialism. That they fought with enthusiasm amounting to fanaticism seems to be generally agreed.

Another factor in bringing the war to an end was the unpopularity of it among the French military organization.

American popular opinion against participation was still a further factor in the conclusion of hostilities. That France would have welcomed American participation and that many political and military leaders in this country were in favor of all-out involvement of our nation is well known. The administration's decision not to enter seems very largely based upon its sense of lack of popular support. The will of the common people for or against war is one of the major factors in its initiation, continuance or cessation.

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STATEMENT ADOPTED

By the General Board of The National Council of Churches, May 19, 1954, Chicago, Illinois

REGARDING DECISION OF THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ON SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole nation and the world.

It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. The decision is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men.

The complexity of implementing the decision is recognized by the Court which has set the cases for further reargument on the formulation of the decrees. To put the decision into effect will test the goodwill and discipline of people in many communities. Adjustments will be more difficult in some localities than in others. In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

WHEN DOES YOUR SUBSCRIPTION EXPIRE?

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A NEW LIFE FOR THEM

A new life for hundreds of refugees depends upon assurances submitted to the United States government by American citizens. Thousands of refugees are looking to our churches in America for the precious assurance which alone will enable them to resettle in this country under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

The Disciples of Christ through the Department of Social Welfare are committed by action of the International Convention in 1953 on the resolution, *Need for Emergency Immigration Legislation*, to give assistance in this undertaking for the rebuilding of human lives.

The 4,000 refugee dossiers which Church World Service has available describe workers of all kinds of training and talent from construction laborer to architect; from apprentice mechanic to engineer.

Also needed are some educational assurances providing *study* instead of job opportunity for college age refugees who are not included in family units.

A question frequently raised concerns the meaning of the "guarantee against becoming a public charge" which the Act stipulates. The government Administrator has pointed out that the assurance is not a legal contract; it is only a personal or moral obligation of the individual assurer or group.

The cost of such a project includes only what may be needed to cover transportation from port of entry to place of resettlement and essential living costs until the family becomes self-supporting. Then, when financially able, the newcomers will repay the funds that sponsors have advanced.

Housing arrangements may be specified as temporary on the assurance form. After the refugee family arrives permanent housing accommodations may be secured which will be the responsibility of the assurer or sponsoring group.

Probably the matter of employment causes the most apprehension because the Act requires that all job assurances must be validated by the United States Employment Service. This relates to Section IIIa of the assurance form. The best procedure to follow is to give the details of the proposed employment to the nearest local office of

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"WHAT'S UP FOR FALL?"

An air of expectancy and vitality seems to prevail as summer schedules end. What's up that's new in program plans for fall and winter? Is this the time to start those informal discussion groups in the relaxing social environment of someone's home?—or plan a special unit in that adult class?—or a series of after dinner "arm chair chats" for those interested?

Here are some of the materials available at the prices indicated through the Sales Literature Department, UCMS, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana, each of which can be used in one or more ways.

• *Ethics in A Business Society* by Marquis Childs and Douglas Cater, Harper & Brothers. 1954, 35¢ pocket size edition. A penetrating analysis of a recent study project of inquiry into the relationship of religion and business.

• *Christian Faith and International Responsibility*, the report of the Fourth Study Conference on Churches and World Order held in Cleveland, Ohio, October, 1953, and *We Are Responsible*, a six-unit discussion guide to aid local groups in a study of this conference. These two publications published by The Department of International Justice and Goodwill, National Council of Churches are available at 30¢ each.

They can help local groups to bring the Conference to their own community, "to main street." Implicit in the titles and content is the fact that "Christian faith does not provide us with clear-cut blueprints or easy answers for the tragic problems of the world's disorder," but "as Christians and as American citizens we do have a responsibility to speak to American citizens about American responsibilities in the world community."

• *U.N. Snare Or Shield*, a reprint from *Christian Century*, December 16, 1953 issue provides an excellent resource for study of the U.N.—what it is, how it works, what is happening. Available at 15¢ single copy and with rates for quantity lots.

L. B.

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

Glenn D. Everett*

The Great Filibuster—Your Washington correspondent, in common with many others, has been weary of mind and body as a result of the Senate's day-and-night sessions and the pressure of the last-minute Congressional adjournment rush.

Although the "talkathon" on the Atomic Energy bill was one of the longest filibusters in Congressional history, and was terribly wearing on all who had relation with it, it was also the most popular of such debates in many years. Heretofore, filibusters were usually carried on by a small sectional minority fighting civil rights legislation or by a very small minority trying to block some bill, such as the filibusters that Huey Long or "Pappy" Lee O'Daniel used to lead. This current one had broad representation and was devoted to protection of the national interest rather than some purely sectional interests. Atomic energy is going to be the most important source of power in the future and while the debate over patents and priorities is too complicated to discuss in this limited space, the public was made aware by the long debate of the fact that the administration is showing great favoritism to the wealthy private utilities.

Two reflections can be made about this long debate: (1) Had Majority Leader Knowland been as determined to get other portions of the President's program enacted as he was to get this bill through, a good deal more would have been accomplished by the 83rd Congress.

(2) Liberals have learned that the filibuster is a two-edged weapon. There will now be much less zeal for stripping the Senate of its right of unlimited debate.

As a matter of fact, continuous 24 hour sessions were never attempted when Southerners filibustered anti-poll tax or FEPC legislation. And any legislation that went on the lawbooks in the face of such determined opposition might prove very difficult to enforce once it is there.

McCarthy Censure—In the caricature of one eminent cartoonist, the Senate has left pussyfootprints in the sands of time by the courage with which it dealt with Senator Flanders' motion to censure the conduct of Senator McCarthy. A committee of six Senators has been appointed to "study" the matter. Three of the men, Senators Watkins, Stennis, and Ervin were highly-regarded judges before coming to the Senate and it is to be hoped that they will exercise their judicial powers in the present situation.

It is probable that some kind of censure will ultimately be voted, since the Senate can hardly put itself in the position of approving all of McCarthy's

behavior or of finding nothing at all improper about his amazing financial transactions. A resolution of censure however, will be almost meaningless insofar as controlling McCarthyism is concerned. Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark) put his finger on the problem when in an address to 32 visiting Disciples of Christ ministers he said that the proof that McCarthy is a dangerous psychopathic demagogue lies in the fact he brushes off all criticism. Things that would make any other man in public office hide his face in shame, for instance, the celebrated \$10,000 Lustron check, the \$195,000 in the safe deposit box, the 87 telephone calls on behalf of Pvt. Schine, are nothing to McCarthy. He pauses briefly, shouts "Lies!" and then says the Senators who want to censure him are "Nice fellows, but they lack the guts to fight Communism."

As Senator Fulbright pointed out, there you see the true mark of the dangerous demagogue—absolutely no moral scruples.

Disrespect for Rules—Now as to whether McCarthy will have any respect for a resolution of censure, if one is voted, or for any new Senate rules, if any are adopted, the answer was given by McCarthy himself in the closing hour of debate on Senator Flanders' motion. Standing there in front of all of his colleagues, McCarthy scornfully demanded that his critics be subpoenaed under oath and ticked off their names—Cooper, Duff, Lehman, Hennings, and "Half-bright." That was the word he used. He was not called to order. The Congressional Record, to everyone's surprise, carried the typical McCarthy slur the next morning. One of the Senate's most rigid rules is that which calls for members to refer to each other in the third person, never by proper name, and never by any mark of disrespect. Thus it is always "the able and distinguished junior Senator from Arkansas" even when you are engaged in a hot argument with him. Gallery observers often smile at the exaggerated and sometimes sarcastic Senatorial courtesy.

The rule is there for a purpose. It is to keep Senate debate from degenerating into a name-calling contest when tempers become frayed. It reminds Senators constantly of the high forum of which they are members.

Senator McCarthy has shown as he literally stood on trial what regard he has for Senate rules of orderly procedure.

A resolution to expel McCarthy might have force and effect, for it would throw him out and let the people of Wisconsin deal with him. A resolution of censure will not be worth the paper it is written on.

Indochina, Lessons To Be Learned

(Continued from Page 1)

The second lesson, related to the first is this: Many people in the world may hate and fear colonialism, exploitation and race discrimination much more than they do communism. It does not much matter that we can see that it is "out of the frying pan into the fire," to trade colonialism for communist masters. The fact remains—a lesson to be underscored in Indochina—that many Asians are willing to try anything instead of the colonial regimes for whatever reason (even to protect populations against communism) we must expect nothing but antagonism, resentment, resistance and outright war as the result.

The third lesson, growing out of the foregoing is that expediency as a basis for national policy spells distrust, lack of faith and friendship and eventual failure in foreign relations. Today, American stock in the Far East is at its highest in the Philippines where our record of acting on the basis of principle rather than expediency is at its best. Conversely we have few friends in Indochina where for so long we temporized with French colonialism in order to gain a grudging and dubious French consent for our policies in Europe. There is little question today but that the overruling consideration in much American thinking, both official and man-in-the-street-wise, is purely that of *survival*. All other matters are made subservient to the one question of continued existence of the nation. Under such circumstances an almost pure expediency becomes the order of the day and we tend to sacrifice all thought of long term values for the sake of what seems for the moment to serve our ends. The result of such a policy is clearly seen in Indochina.

A fourth and sobering lesson to be learned from Indochina and Korea taken together is this: That as an agency for settling disputes and resisting aggression, the U.N. inspires far more respect and confidence among the nations of the world and is therefore far more successful than the U.S. acting unilaterally. Not only do the smaller and weaker nations of the world mistrust us, but also many of the larger and stronger nations which we have in the past considered our allies, also fear and mistrust us. Britain's opposition to our proposed "massive retaliation" policy and its present cooperation, economic and diplomatic, with Red China spells out our lack of leadership on a unilateral basis. If the U.S. is to have real leadership in international affairs it is safe to say that leadership will have to come through the U.N. rather than on the basis of independent pronouncements and policies.

—B. H.

NEW! NEW! NEW!

♦ *Segregation and the Schools* by Frank P. Graham and Benjamin Mays. Published by the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York, one copy 25c, rates on quantity orders.

♦ *Answers for Action; Schools in the South*, published by Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, 15c.

♦ *Integration, Promise, Process, Problems*, by Margaret C. McCulloch, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 60c.

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Both of these first two pamphlets are based on "The Negro and The Schools" by Harry S. Ashmore. Ashmore, who is the executive Editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, wrote his book as the first report of the findings of forty-five scholars brought together by the Fund For The Advancement of Education.

The Graham-Mays pamphlet is a twenty-eight page condensation of the Ashmore book. It was prepared after the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional was announced. The origin and development of the dual school system in America is traced; the record of Court decisions related to segregation is sketched; some experiences of cities that changed from a dual system to an integrated school system are reported.

Answers For Action, also prepared after the Court's decision was announced, seeks to indicate the answer to "What are the next steps?" It attempts to bring together some of the main facts that point the way to constructive action. "It is written in the belief that the vast majority of Southerners accept what is now the law of the land, want to have done with bitterness and obstruction, and are willing to sit down with their fellow citizens of the other race and find the best ways to move ahead." There is a section that interprets why the Court ruled as it did, and what the practical meaning of the decision is. There is a section of quotations from various church bodies on the Court's decision. It deals briefly with the ineffectiveness of plans to evade the decision. There is a section on how integration works and a discussion of some of the real and imagined problems in moving toward integration. The role of parent-teachers organizations, churches, civic clubs, and other community groups is discussed.

In addition to this, the pamphlet includes the complete text of the May 17 decision of the Supreme Court and a map showing the distribution of non-white population.

Margaret McCulloch's little booklet (77 pp.) was published in 1952 as the successor to one she had written three years earlier, "Segregation, A Challenge to Democracy." As the title indicates it is a study of the meaning of "integration" as opposed to "segregation." It is addressed to those seeking full equality and freedom of participation for all citizens in America's life.

Pointing out that integration is "making whole" that which is separated into parts, the author believes we should make unmistakable our meaning by qualifying integration this way: "integration of Negroes and whites on an equal footing, with free and full participation unrestricted by race." She presents the evidence that we are moving in the direction of such integration, and alerts those working for such a society of the pitfalls on the way. The last section of the book points to ways that the process of integration may be speeded up.

The final, one-page chapter closes with these words: "Integration is a process in the right direction. We count it the right direction because of our ideals. We believe in democracy. Integration of Negro and white Americans is necessary if we are to have democracy in this country. We believe in democracy because we believe in something deeper. We believe that man is the creature of God and the child of God. One God loves us all with an equal and infinite love. That makes us all brothers one of another. In the long run the progress of integration depends on how deeply, strongly, and truly we are inspired by this faith. Inspired by it we shall welcome the opportunities of brotherhood and share joyfully the common adventure of promoting it. Uninspired by it we shall be blown about by any wind of propaganda and turned in any direction. As a man thinks in his heart, so is he. Integration depends on every reader's heartfelt, 'I believe'."

L. H. D.

TEEN-AGER PROGRAM 1954-1955

On July 28 two hundred and twenty-seven German high school students aboard the *Neptunia* arrived in the United States for one year's residence. These youngsters were selected from some 11,000 applicants in the local communities of Germany.

Of this number fifty-one have been assigned to the Brethren Service Student Program with whom the Disciples participate in securing host families. The students are sixteen and seventeen years of age and have enough academic credits to be classified as Seniors in the American high school.

Preparation—Orientation— Assignment

They are prepared for this experience by briefing sessions in Europe and an orientation program in the United States. For those assigned to the Brethren, this was conducted at the Service Center, New Windsor, Maryland, for three days prior to the students' departure for their American homes. Mrs. Milner represented the Department of Social Welfare at these sessions.

"Our Family Circle Is World-Wide"

Disciples of Christ families who are "host families" this year, the name of their student and his home in Germany are as follows:

- Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Evans, Austin, Minn., *Waltraut Heidenreich* (Traunstein/obb)
- Dr. and Mrs. R. L. Houston, Jr.,* Eminence, Ky., *Holger Schmid* (Ebingen)
- Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Jensen, Lincoln, Nebr.,** *Renate Kahl* (Oberhausen-Sterkrade)
- Rev. and Mrs. Weymeth McGrew, Puyallup, Wash., *Johann-Henrich Duenhoelter* (Bad Salzuffen)
- Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Rucker, Mineola, Texas, *Christl Gratzke* (Crailsheim)
- Mr. and Mrs. Marvin B. Vice, Lexington, Ky., *Ingrid Henke* (Burg-hausen/obb. Della)
- Mr. and Mrs. Paul W. Walters, Des Moines, Ia., *Gisela Haertel* (Ravensburg)
- Rev. and Mrs. Norman E. West, Mansfield, Penn., *Friedrich - Karl Schroeder* (Lubeck)

The Teen Ager-Program is a small part of the International Exchange Activities which is being jeopardized by cuts in appropriations.

R. E. M.

* This is a Community project and Hogler will live in several different homes during the year.

**Renate is the third exchange student from the Teen-Ager Program sponsored by the First Christian Church.

IT HAPPENED IN THE SUMMER OF 1954

Jamaica, B. W. I.: The story of this group of twenty-three enthusiastic and hard-working campers begins to trickle in via Air Mail notes. They are a real family group with Mr. and Mrs. James A. Lollis of Danville, Kentucky, serving as the camp directors, together with their three children who are the "junior campers", 11 young people from the U.S.A. and 7 young people of Jamaica. We wish we could share in these lines the contagious spirit which reveals itself in the brief notes which have come thus far. The story is more than one of digging up trees, laying foundations, tired muscles, wonderful climate . . . it is a story of people bound together in an experience of purposeful living which "puts Christian faith in action". . . It is building solid in goodwill—through the disciplines of work and study and the resulting fellowship—it is more than a list of names written here—it is an unending chain of Christian friendship—a leaven in international relationships.

Jamaican campers: Keith Phillips, Jones Town; Charles Dixon, Islington; Byron C. Allen, St. Allman; (each are students at St. Colmes Theological College, Kingston) Cyril E. Dickson, St. Vincent; Dermot C. Arscott, Half-Way Tree; (students at Caenwood Theological College) Richard I. Nelson, Canaries; (studying at Calabar College) and Guilford F. James, Kingston (a student at Mico Training College).

U. S. Campers: Richard Johnson, Bartlesville, Oklahoma; Bruce Dimmitt, Piper, Kansas; Edwina Hughes, El Paso, Texas; Mr. and Mrs. Harrison M. Goodall, Birmingham, Alabama; W. L. Malmstrom, Fort Worth, Texas; Jim E. Owens, Hematite, Virginia; Roy Frank Austin, Indianapolis, Indiana; Irma Williamson, Longview, Illinois; Beth Philpott, Portland, Oregon; Ruby Jean Jones, Albany, Texas.

Hazel Green, Kentucky: And when work-camping takes place in the U.S.A. the story is told in the same vibrant tone. Their project was to build a church foundation. Together with people from the local community they scooped out the mud for the concrete forms, they poured the concrete. They built solid to strengthen the Christian fibre of life for themselves, and for the people of this community who needed help to help themselves. It is a never-to-be-forgotten experience for a group of 11 persons, including their camp directors, Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Fudge of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, who came from 7 states to live and work together six weeks in the summer of 1954.

Their names: Bob Dargitz, Westminster, Colorado; Richard Lee McKinney, Irving, Texas; Elizabeth Nance, Alhambra, California; Elaine Robinson, Imbler, Oregon; Laura K. Sherman, Des Moines, Iowa; Lois A. Jarnagin, Detroit, Michigan; Kenneth Henry, Hawkins, Texas; Elna Martin, Milwaukie, Oregon, and Carli Hanna, Habash, Texas.

Flanner House, Indianapolis, Indiana: For a period of two weeks in June a group of 13 adults came together for

A New Life For Them (Continued from Page 1)

the United States or State Employment Service. It is best to fill in section IIIa of the assurance form with the information and take it to the Employment Service Office. Several copies of Form ES-560 will then be filled out by that office. One copy will be given the assurer to attach to the assurance forms when he returns them to the Department of Social Welfare. The remaining copies of Form ES-560 will be forwarded to the state, regional and national offices of the Employment Service. Upon completion of certification, the national office of the United States Employment Service in Washington will transmit the certified copies to the Visa office of the State Department where they will be matched with the assurance forms which the Department of Social Welfare has sent to the Administrator in the State Department through Church World Service.

If the job which has been described on the assurance should disappear before the refugee arrives the assurer or sponsoring group assumes responsibility for securing another upon the arrival of the newcomer.

For further details, dossiers and assurance forms write to the Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

R. E. M.

an in-service-training period in a Director's Work Camp. Three children of couples in the group ages 5 months, 5 and 8 years joined in the fun with nursery and day care provisions, and made it a family experience for two families. You will notice from the group that some of these folks renewed their experiences by serving this summer as directors of the Jamaican and Hazel Green work camps, and undoubtedly there will be some local church week-end work camping in several states in future weeks and months!

The campers: Mr. and Mrs. Walter H. Abel, Manhattan, Kansas; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fudge, Del City, Oklahoma; Mr. Ronald H. Reed, Fresno, California; Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Selsor, Lubbock, Texas; Miss Sue Gillespie, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Miss Lucille Couvillon, Pomona, California; and Mr. and Mrs. Barton Hunter, Indianapolis.

Who directed the camp? They all did! For each had his turn as "directed"?

In Internship:

Learning by doing and serving is the crux of a Summer Internship at Flanner House and Jane Myers of Gooding, Idaho served this summer.

L. B.